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[Bookplate of the John W. Thomason, Jr. Collection]

IT WOULD BE a very comforting thing if we could in this urgent year of 1940, call up from the ground those long-boned, hairy fellows whose armies traversed this country a lifetime ago. It would be a hopeful thing if they might be mustered again, in their simplicity, their earnestness, and their antique courage. It would be an easy detail to instruct men of their proved and savage aptitude for war in the tactics and techniques introduced by the modern practitioners of that most ancient art. And our enemies would presently be confounded by us in all their knavish tricks.

For those men believed in something. They counted life a light thing to lay down in the faith they bore. They were terrible in battle. They were generous in victory. They rose up from defeat to fight again, and while they lived they were formidable. There were not enough of them; that is all.—
John W. Thomason, Jr., LONE STAR PREACHER.

The LIBRARY CHRONICLE

VOL. IV

NO. 2

A Mexican View of the Texas War:

Memoirs of a Veteran of the Two Battles of the Alamo

AMONG the manuscripts recently acquired by the Archives Collection is a two-volume index to the records kept by José Juan Sánchez Navarro during his term of office as Adjutant Inspector of the Departments of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, entitled *Ayudantía de Inspección de Nuevo León y Tamaulipas*. The file date for each volume is 1831 and 1836 respectively; the period covered extends from April 1831 to November 1839. The contents of the two volumes, in the order recorded, are appended to this article. (Appendix I.)

In the blank pages between the different divisions of the index, Sánchez wrote a detailed account of the two major encounters between the Mexican and the Texas forces in San Antonio de Béxar, in which he participated. The narrative is in the form of a diary and was written on the scene, as is indicated by the following entry:

Today is December 12 [1835]. I was writing this when, by order of the Commandant General, I went to Béxar to compare the invoices for the ponchos, hats, and shoes that I brought from Leona Vicario.¹

¹*Ayudantía de Inspección de Nuevo León y Tamaulipas*, 1831-1839, 2 vol-418ff., I:145.

The diary is prefaced by these words:

"All has been lost save honor!" I do not remember, nor am I in the mood to remember, what French king said this, perhaps under better circumstances than those in which we are today, the eleventh of December, 1935. Béxar, and perhaps Texas has been lost, although the majority of the faithful subjects the Supreme Government had here for its defense cannot be blamed for such a loss. This is my humble opinion; and to prove it, I shall relate the event in so far as it is within my power to do so. . .²

His feeling towards the American colonists is bitterly expressed:

We were surrounded by some gross, proud, and victorious men. Anyone who knows the character of the North Americans can judge what our situation must have been!³

Much as he despised the "norteamericanos," however, Sánchez could take little comfort in the quality of the Mexican leadership. He relates his encounter with Santa Anna in Leona Vicario, February 1836, as follows:

The Most Excellent President, to whom I introduced myself and who recognized me—we were classmates in officers' training . . . has granted the request I made him [to permit me] to return to the Texas campaign. . . There is much activity by way of preparation for this purpose. There are many troops and [there is] much noise; but I see no indications of good political, military, and administrative systems.

His Excellency himself attends to all matters whether important or most trivial. I am astonished to see that he has personally assumed the authority of major general . . . of quartermaster, of commissary, of brigadier generals, of colonels, of captains, and even of corporals, purveyors, *arrieros*, and *carreteros*.

Would it not be better for His Excellency to rid himself of such troublesome work which will occupy his time, which is more needed for the execution of the high duties of his office, by keeping each individual member of the army in complete exercise of his authority according to the provisions of the general ordinances. . .?

²*Ibid.* I:253.

³*Ibid.* I:245v.

What will become of the army and of the nation if the Most Excellent President should die? Confusion and more confusion because only His Excellency knows the springs by means of which these masses of men called the army are moved. The members of the army in general have no idea of the significance of the Texas war, and all of them believe that they are merely on a military excursion. If, when questioned, one tells the truth about what one has seen there, one is considered a poor soul. As if the enemy could be conquered merely by despising him. . .

Today the Most Excellent President left with his General Staff. He was accompanied by General Cos as far as Santa María. It is said that His Excellency is very economical, even miserly. Those close to him assert that whoever wants to, can make him uncomfortable by asking him for a peso; and they add that he would rather give a colonel's commission than ten pesos. Can all this be true? Even if it is, would it not be better not to mention it? I believe so. But the facts speak for themselves. When we took leave of each other, His Excellency shook my hand and expressed surprise that I was not wearing the insignia of lieutenant colonel, and he told me so.⁴

In Monclova, as the Mexican re-enforcements are on their way to San Antonio, February 1836, Sánchez describes the wretched conditions of the soldiers:

It is pitiful and despairing to go looking for provisions and beasts of burden, money in hand when there is plenty of everything in the commissaries, the *almacenes*, and depots, and to have everyone from the quartermaster general, who is General Woll, and the *jefe político* to the humblest clerk reply—as if I were a Turk and the supplies I order and for which I offer to pay cash were for the Russians—"We cannot sell that, we cannot let you have it because it is for the army." Consequently, we are perishing from hunger and misery in the midst of plenty.⁵

He is consistently critical of many of the superior officers, particularly of the President and Commander-in-chief of the army.

⁴*Ibid.* II:3-3v.

⁵*Ibid.* II:4.

When we arrived in this city [Monclova], His Excellency the President had left for Río Grande the day before. He is going to Béxar with inconceivable, rather, astonishing haste. Why is His Excellency going in such haste? Why is he leaving the entire army behind? Does he think that his name alone is sufficient to overthrow the colonists?⁶

On the 21st [of March 1836], Fannin and four hundred twenty one prisoners were shot at la Bahía between six and eight in the morning. Sad day! God grant that there may not be another like it! Would it not be well to save the prisoners for the purpose of using them if we should some day suffer reverses?⁷

The Most Excellent President and many of those close to him assert that the campaign is ended; but Generals Filisola, Arago—who is dying—Amador, Andrade, and Cos say that it has hardly started. I am of the opinion of the latter gentlemen. It is reported as a fact that we set fire to all the residences that are not burned by the colonists. I have made many efforts to see what there is by way of a plan for the campaign. I believe there is none; or that if there is one, it is in the mind of His Excellency the President.⁸

If it is true, as is asserted, that an army of four thousand men is coming from Mexico to carry on the Texas campaign, why was the Texas army dissolved and withdrawn? Who or what circumstances can give to the generals, the *jefes*, the officers, and the troops that are coming now for the first time the experience and the practical knowledge of those who have been in Texas previously? Is it possible that we Mexicans must always learn by trial and error? It is indeed dangerous to expose the fate of a nation a second time.⁹

With reference to the recapture of the Alamo by the Mexican forces, Sánchez makes extensive comments:

Long live our country, the Alamo is ours!

Today at five in the morning, the assault was made by four columns under the command of General Cos and Colonels Duque, Romero, and Morales. His Excellency the President commanded the reserves. The firing lasted half an hour. Our

⁶*Ibid.* II:4-4v.

⁷*Ibid.* II:78v.

⁸*Ibid.* II:79.

⁹*Ibid.* II:93v.

jefes, officers, and troops, at the same time as if by magic, reached the top of the wall, jumped within, and continued fighting with side arms. By six thirty there was not an enemy left. I saw actions of heroic valor I envied. I was horrified by some cruelties, among others, the death of an old man named Cochran and of a boy about fourteen. The women and children were saved. Travis, the commandant of the Alamo died like a hero; Buy [Bowie], the braggart son-in-law of Beramendi [died] like a coward. The troops were permitted to pillage. The enemy have suffered a heavy loss: twenty-one field pieces of different caliber, many arms and munitions. Two hundred fifty-seven of their men were killed: I have seen and counted their bodies. But I cannot be glad because we lost eleven officers with nineteen wounded, including the valiant Duque and González; and two hundred forty-seven of our troops were wounded and one hundred ten killed. It can truly be said that with another such victory as this we'll go to the devil.¹⁰

After the capture of the Alamo, I proposed to the Commandant General, Don Martín Perfecto de Cos, that the valiant officers and soldiers who died in the assault be buried in the cemetery of the chapel of the said fort, that the names of each be inscribed on a copper tablet made from one of the cannons captured to be placed on a column at the base of which these eight lines might be written:

Los cuerpos que aqui yacen,	The bodies that lie here at
se animaron	rest
Con almas que á los cielos	Were those of men whose
se subieron,	souls elate
A gozar de la gloria que	Are now in Heaven to be
ganaron	blest
Con altas proesas que el	For deeds that time cannot
mundo hicieron:	abate.

El humano tributo, aqui pa-	They put their manhood to
garon;	the test,
Al pagarlo la muerte no	And fearlessly they met their
temieron,	fate;
Pues muerte por la Patria	No fearful end, a patriot's
recibida	fall

¹⁰*Ibid.* II:6v.

Mas que muerte, es un paso Leads to the highest life of
á mejor vida. all.¹¹

My suggestion was not approved and I believe that it was not the fault of General Cos. Consequently, I wished to write down the said verses here not so much for the purpose of passing myself off as a poet as to render due tribute in the only manner within my power to those illustrious, valiant, and untimely victims.¹²

The dead, it appears, were not the only "untimely victims":

There are no hospitals, medicines, or doctors; and the condition of the wounded is such as to cause pity. They have no mattresses on which to lie or blankets with which to cover themselves, in spite of the fact that on entering Béxar, we took from the enemy the remnants of three or four stores and that one has been set up and called the Government Store, where everything is sold at a high price and for cash.¹³

Of his own condition and of the cost of living, Sánchez writes:

I have been sick with rheumatism and misery for twenty-one days. What must be the condition of others? In Colonel Dromundo's commissary, *piloncillo* sells for one peso, flour for one peso the pound, a tablet of chocolate for two reales, an almud of corn for three pesos, and so on. I am told that only the table of *Señor Sesma* is sumptuous. *Señor Cos* and his adjutants have eaten only roast meat for three days. There is money but there might as well not be any because it is only at the disposal of the Most Excellent President, and His Excellency is annoyed when asked for a peso.¹⁴

In the entry for April 26, 1836, in Matamoros, Sánchez writes:

Two days ago news was received that His Excellency the President, after having joined his divisions, had left them again and, with very few forces, was pursuing Houston and

¹¹Translation supplied anonymously.

¹²*Ibid.* II:78.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.* II:78v.

was on his way to Harrisburg. May God bring His Excellency safely through so daring an undertaking.¹⁵

In January 1837, the rejoicing which he observed in Leona Vicario over the adoption of the new constitution of 1836 caused Sánchez to pray that it might last longer than the one it was replacing and to state:

Upon leaving, I was assured that it [the new constitution] had the same deficiency as the previous one, that is to say there was no fiscal system. We must not deceive ourselves; as long as the nation does not know the actual amount of its total income and the actual amount of its total and necessary expenditures we shall be walking on precipices and erroneous pathways, we shall contend over false and dubious issues and we shall build without foundations and upon sands. Without removing the causes of evil, we shall never be rid of its pernicious consequences nor find the good way.¹⁶

The first part of the diary of José Juan Sánchez through April 1, 1836, was published at Mexico City in 1938 by Carlos Sánchez-Navarro under the title *La Guerra de Tejas: Memorias de un Soldado*. From the introduction to this work, and from the internal evidence of the diary, the following facts about his life may be determined.

José Juan Sánchez Navarro was a native of Saltillo. His predecessors distinguished themselves in the field of battle in Spain as early as the thirteenth century. About 1550, Captain Juan Sánchez Navarro migrated to the New World and in 1575, with Alberto del Canto, he founded the *villa* Santiago del Saltillo.

José Juan Sánchez joined the army very young and was made captain after the consummation of independence. He became adjutant inspector of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas April 8, 1831, and was still holding this position during the Texas campaign. As his diary so eloquently testifies, he took an active part in the two major encounters between the Mexican and

¹⁵*Ibid.* II:79v.

¹⁶*Ibid.* II:111.

the Texas forces in San Antonio de Béxar in December 1835 and March 1836, respectively.

In May 1836, José Juan Sánchez was commissioned to protect the frontier presidios against the incursions of the Indians. He was very reluctant to assume this position not only because he wished to remain in the Texas campaign but also because the presidial companies were in such a deplorable state of disorganization and destitution that he considered them utterly incapable of performing the duties required of them. He repeatedly requested permission to remain in the Texas campaign, offering to donate fifty pesos a month from his pay to the national treasury to be spent "exclusively on the troops that shall march again to Texas until our national honor shall be well avenged there." His gift was accepted but his petition was denied.

With the passing of time, Sánchez felt more and more frustrated by the absence of "good political, military, and administrative systems" which made it impossible for him to perform effectively the duties of his office. On May 23, 1836, soon after the safety of the frontier was entrusted to his care, Sánchez wrote that if at least three hundred men in Coahuila and Texas and five hundred men in Nuevo León and Tamaulipas were armed, mounted, and equipped according to the regulations for presidios; if the money for their pay, equipment and supplies was provided in advance; and if the men were strictly required to obey the general ordinances of the army and the regulations for presidios, he would vouch for the defense of the frontier, and he continues:

I could even go so far as to assert that I could make it very uncomfortable for the perfidious colonists of Béxar and la Bahía; and I would prevent, to a great extent or possibly altogether, the disgraceful, perfidious, and opprobrious contraband trade in which some despicable vile Mexicans of the *villas* of the frontier will undoubtedly begin to engage. . .

What can I do, unaided, with nothing but authority? I shall go where I have been ordered and I shall do everything pos-

sible to defend the lives and property of such honorable communities even at the risk of my life. If I cannot remedy the misfortunes they experience, I shall help them to bear and endure them.

However, I am still disconsolate because [I know that] troops that are undisciplined, and what is worse without pay, will never protect the property of others and this [property] will remain irremediably insecure under the protection of hungry soldiers. If the companies are not to be paid, they should be done away with in order that they may not be a burden to the settlers. If these [settlers] are freed from [paying] tribute and provided with arms and munitions, we shall see how much better they will defend their property.¹⁷

In July 1836, Sánchez writes:

I am tired of being Adjutant Inspector since, because of the prevalent destitution, this position does not yield enough to support myself and my numerous family; and what is worse, because I receive no benefits from it but only annoyances and worries for instead of the three thousand pesos I should receive as salary, I have three thousand enemies who oppose me because they covet the same [pesos] for their protégés or because, in the execution of the duties of my office, I make demands upon them with regard to their obligations, particularly in the field of accounts. I cannot exercise it [the duties of my office] with the liberty conceded to me by the regulations for presidios and by article 11 of the law of March 21, 1826 because the existence of Adjutant Inspectors is incompatible with that of the *Commandantes Principales* [colonels delegated with powers of commandant generals].¹⁸

In September 1836, he laments:

We have nothing but orders; some issued by the Most Excellent General-in-Chief, others by the Commandant General, others by the said *Comandante Principal*; but none through the conduct of the office of Adjutant Inspector, in which position I have been reduced to a ZERO.¹⁹

¹⁷*Ibid.* II:10-11.

¹⁸*Ibid.* II:85.

¹⁹*Ibid.* II:95v.

In December 1836, Sánchez was notified of his promotion to lieutenant colonel retroactive to April 8, 1831. In 1844, he was promoted to the rank of colonel for his bravery in the pacification of the rebellious Indians. In 1846 and 1847, he participated in the encounters with the United States, taking part in the battle of La Angostura as a member of the staff of General Santa Anna and recording his impressions of this event. He was made brevet general at the close of the war. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed commandant general of Coahuila, in which capacity he was serving at the time of his death, June 2, 1849.

HELEN HUNNICUTT
ARCHIVES TRANSLATOR

APPENDIX I: Contents of Sánchez' Index.

Volume I.

Detailed inventory of the *legajos* [bundles of papers] and papers pertaining to the Office of Adjutant Inspector of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas received by Captain and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Crespo when he assumed the said office. [1788-1827]

Inventory of the archive of the Office of Adjutant Inspector of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas during the time it was managed by the third *jefe* of the 10th permanent battalion, Citizen Antonio Crespo, delivered by Lieutenant Colonel Citizen Nicolás del Moral to the Adjutant Inspector, Captain Citizen José Juan Sánchez. [1826-1829]

Inventory of the archive of the Office of Adjutant Inspector of the States of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas accumulated between June 1829 and the present date [September 17, 1831], when Lieutenant Colonel Citizen Nicolás del Moral delivered it to Captain Citizen José Juan Sánchez, the present adjutant inspector of the presidial companies and the reserve militia of the said states.

Note. This inventory should be filed in the archive which is now on deposit in Lampazos in care of *Alférez* Citizen Gregorio Cisneros.

Provisional inventory made by Captain Citizen José Juan Sánchez for his guidance during the time he shall hold the office of adjutant inspector of the States of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, beginning May 6, 1831. [1831-1835]

Report of the march of the division which withdrew from Bexar under the command of General Don Martín Perfecto de Cos from the *villa* of Laredo to Monclova. [January 7-30, 1836]

Report of the dead and wounded in the presidial cavalry during the siege of the Plaza de Béxar from October to December 1835.

Index of the correspondence sent by the Most Excellent Commandant General and Inspector of the Eastern Interior Provinces, Citizen Manuel de Mier y Terán to the Adjutant of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, Citizen José Juan Sánchez. [May 6, 1831-July 24, 1832]

Index of the correspondence sent by General Don Pedro Lemus, Commandant General and Inspector of the Eastern Interior Provinces, to the Adjutant of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas. [January 1834-January 3, 1836]

Index of the correspondence sent to the Most Excellent Commandant General and Inspector of the Eastern Interior States by the Adjutant of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas, arranged by numbers and dates. [May 1, 1831-July 30, 1832]

Index of the correspondence sent by the Adjutant Inspector of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas to the Commandant General and Inspector of the Eastern Interior States, General Don Pedro Lemus. [January 16-April 22, 1834]

Index of the business which, by reason of starting my march toward Laredo to put under arms the first regular company of Tamaulipas, I am remitting under the heading of "pending" to the superior hands of the Commandant General and Inspector in order that His Lordship may be good enough to give the decisions regarding them which he deems advisable, for which purpose I respectfully state my opinion with regard to each [item]. [December 15, 1833-April 22, 1834]

Index of the sovereign decrees and the printed supreme orders which the Most Excellent Commandant General and Inspector of the Eastern Interior States sent to the Adjutant

of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas to be circulated to the companies under his jurisdiction.

Index of the circulars sent by the Adjutant Inspector of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas to the companies under his jurisdiction, dates recorded. [June 22–November 27, 1831]

Volume II.

Inventory of the archive of the Office of Adjutant Inspector of the Departments of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas. [1836]

Arrival of General Cos at Leona Vicario; his march to Béxar, and some incidents which occurred prior to the capture of the fort of the Alamo.

Index of the correspondence sent by the Commandant General and Inspector of the Departments of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas to the Adjutant of the same. [February 1836–May 1837]

Diary of the most notable occurrences which befell the army of operations of the northern division under the supreme command of General Don Valentín Canalizo, beginning to-day June 29 [1839], when I, José Juan Sánchez became a part of it.

Distribution of the amount of eighteen thousand six hundred eighty-six pesos and two granos which were spent for effects for the presidial companies and of the funds for additional effects granted by the *Jefe* Superior de Hacienda of the Department with the approval of the Most Excellent Commander in Chief of the Army of the North, the 26th and 27th of April [1838].

Distribution of the amounts which the Adjutant Inspector received in the City of Santa Anna de Tamaulipas to the account of the Head of the Department for the needs of the Army of the North. [1838]

Index of the correspondence sent by the Adjutant Inspector of the Departments of Nuevo León and Tamaulipas to the Commandant General of the same. [February 1836–May 1837]

Inventory of the archive of the Office of Adjutant Inspector of the Departments of Tamaulipas and Nuevo León. [1837]

APPENDIX II: Plan of the Alamo

On the flyleaves of the second volume, Sánchez drew a plan of the Alamo showing the position of the Mexican forces which recaptured the fort on March 6, 1836.

The caption to this plan reads:

The Fort of San Antonio de Valero, commonly called the Alamo. It was surrendered by the Mexican troops for lack of resources the 13th of December 1835 after fifty-five days of constant siege. It was taken by assault by the same [troops] the 6th of March of 1836 and was destroyed the 22nd of May of the same year.

Under the flag with the skull and crossed bones for a device the following lines were written:

El que bea este diceño no bea en bano	Let him who sees this crude device
Que, aunque mal delineado, le recuerda	Remember every patriot must (If name of Mexican suffice
(Si tiene en algo el nombre Mejicano	To proudly bear its fame in trust)
Y quiere que tal nombre no se pierda),	Return to Texas, seal the price
Que á Tejas marche, y con robusta mano	Of vile rebellion low in dust, Until our honor, now out-
Haga que el vil colono el polvo muerda,	raged, In blood and fire shall be as-
Hasta que el honor Patrio, hoy ultrajado,	suaged.*
Quede con sangre y fuego vien bengado.	

The description written immediately below the sketch and on the following page is as follows:

A. Parade Grounds.

B. Main gate. It was taken the day of the assault by Colonel Don Juan Morales assisted by the [officer] of the same rank, Don José Miñón, and his battalion, the reserve militia of San Luis Potosí.

*Translation supplied anonymously.

- C. Church in ruins, with a cemetery. On an esplanade formed in the chancel of the same, a high battery of three cannons was set up and named Fortín de Cos. [It was] not very practical because it could be used for firing down only toward the east [and because of] a slight and cumbersome declivity toward the north. The rooms or apartments which appear on the side of the same church were strong and usable and were used for raising the park.
- D. This was the weakest part of the fort since it was protected only by a short palisade and a poor barricade of trees. At this point a few colonists tried in vain to escape when they saw all was lost.
- E. Tall *cuartel* with a corridor and a corral. This edifice was usable because of its construction and because it was contiguous to the church. It formed the high fortification and the principal part of the fort. If the enemy had made it into a second line of defense, it would have been very difficult to have taken it from them or to have driven them out of it.
- F. Barracks for the troops and corral for horses, through which, with the Matamoros and Ximénez Battalions, the colonel of the first [named], Don José María Romero, attacked and entered. This corral and *cuartel*, whose exterior wall was two feet thick and twelve feet high, were protected by the two cannons shown in their [respective] angles toward the north on esplanades one foot [high] and by embrasures.
- G. Battery of two cannons called by the Mexicans Fortín de Terán located upon the wall at the height of eleven feet, Mexican vara. The wall was two feet thick; it was reenforced on the outside by a palisade with earth in between which made it five feet thick. Through the said point and through the line which runs toward the center of the other battery, Colonel Duque attacked with his Toluca Battalion; and because he was wounded, General Castrillón continued the attack and entered the fort with the Toluca and the Zapadores [Battalions]. In the esplanade of the said battery, the commander of the colonists, named Travis, died like a soldier.

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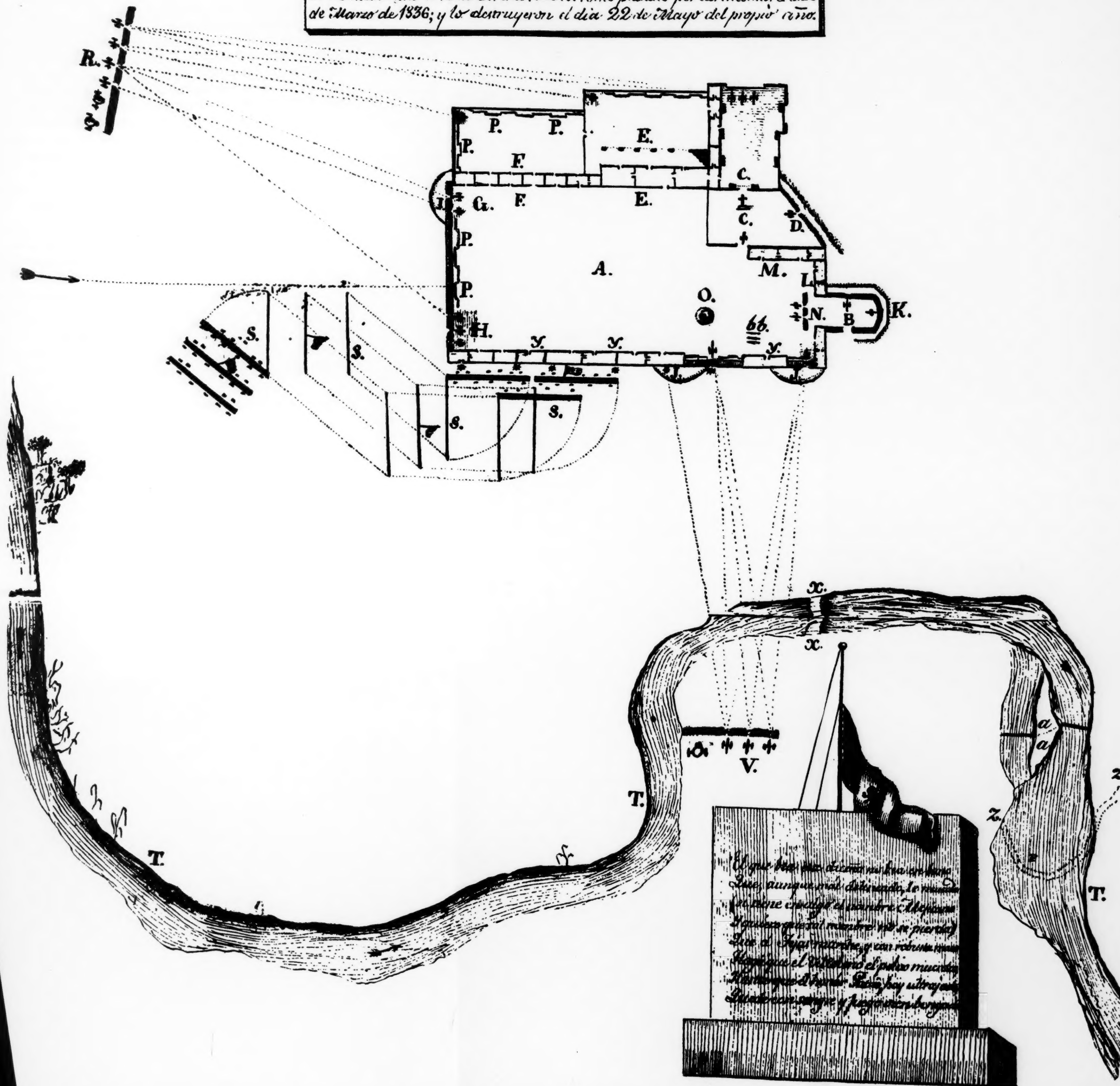
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*Fuente de S.^a Antonio de Palero, llamado comunmente del Mumo:
se abandono por las tropas Mexicanas por falta de recursos despues de 55 dias
de estrecharlo el 13 de Dbre de 1835: se tomó p.^a asalto por las mismas el dia 6
de Marzo de 1836; y lo destruyeron el dia 22 de Mayo del propio año.*



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- H. Through this point, called Fortín de Condelle, having the same elevation as the foregoing, General Don Martín Perfecto de Cos attempted to attack with the first column of attack composed of the Aldama Cazadores and fusiliers and one hundred fusiliers of the reserve militia of San Luis. But having lost many men by the sustained firing by the battery and being annoyed by the firing of the Toluca Battalion, he ordered an oblique movement to the right; and since this was executed promptly and effectively, he flanked the enemy on all sides at the point which he believed the strongest; and he entered the plaza by the postern, over the wall, and by the other points marked by [asterisk].
- Y. Rooms which were in the interior [side] of the wall which had loopholes for rifles toward the outside and the inside.
- J. Circular saps with a moat and stockade defending the exterior of the enclosure.
- K. Moat defending the main gate.
- L. Hospital. In the inner room located in the fore part toward the main gate, the braggart James Wuy [Bowie] died without resisting.
- M. Kitchens.
- N. Barrier or trench for the defense of the gate.
- O. Well dug by the colonists for water.
- P. Inner moat and poorly constructed banquette with which the colonists, thinking they were reenforcing part of the fort, weakened it.
- Q. Place where the bodies of two hundred fifty-seven ungrateful colonists were burned.
- R. Battery for demolition and repercussion set up against the fort at [a distance of] a fusil shot, with which a breach could have been opened in two hours; but it was not ordered to go into action. It was constructed by order of General Amador under the supervision of Lieutenant Colonel Ampudia on the night of the fourth and dawn of the fifth of March. It was manned by the reserve column composed of the Zapadores Battalion

and of the companies of grenadiers of the other battalions. It was commanded by His Excellency the President.

- S. Position held by the first column of attack under the command of General Cos from three in the morning of the sixth of March, where they remained flat on the ground until five, when they received the signal from the trench to attack. The march and movements made by them before beginning the actual assault are shown.
- T. River of San Antonio de Béxar.
- V. Battery set up in the City of Béxar since the first of March.
- X. Board bridge to facilitate the passage of the people from Béxar to the Alamo.
- Z. Ford for vehicles and horses going toward la Villita.
- aa. Island which facilitates the crossing of the river by means of two boards.
- bb. Three dismounted cannons which were found within the Alamo.

Byron's "Fantastic" Will of 1811

THE INTERESTING FIRST DRAFT of Lord Byron's will of 1811 has been recently purchased at the sale of the Lucius Wilmerding Library by Mr. Lutchter Stark and added to the Miriam Stark Collection of Byron manuscripts and books in the Texas Library. Since the collection already contained one of the original copies of the official will drawn up by Byron's attorneys, the acquisition of this draft is especially fortunate. The earlier document is of even greater interest than the other, since it contains Byron's manuscript alterations and substitutions in the body of the draft, as well as notes by the attorneys and Byron's answers, written in the margins.

Like so much of Byron's career, the circumstances surrounding the writing of this will are somewhat dramatic, and its contents are psychologically interesting, for it was made by the poet during a period of severe emotional stress. An examination of these documents, therefore, throws light upon his state of mind at a critical period in his emotional development.

At the end of the summer of 1811, Byron, now twenty-three, returned from the Near East in good spirits, his mind leavened and matured by his travels, and in his pocket two cantos of a poem that he knew was good: the account of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. He had barely landed in England, however, when misfortunes both to his family and to his friends crowded upon him, changing his mood of gay anticipation to the deepest grief. The sudden death of his mother (who did not live to see him again) was followed within a week by the tragic

death of one of his closest Cambridge friends, Charles Skinner Matthews. Then came the news that John Wingfield, his friend from Harrow days, had died of fever at Coimbra, Portugal. "My dear Scrope," he wrote to Davies from Newstead Abbey on Aug. 7, "if you can spare a moment, do come down to me — I want a friend." Five days later, he wrote to R. C. Dallas in London: "I shall be glad to hear from you, on business, on commonplace, or any thing, or nothing — but death — I am already too familiar with the dead."

It was in this mood that Byron shut himself up in the beautiful moldering walls of Newstead, his thoughts naturally turning upon the possibility of his own death. Thus it was in no spirit of boyish bravado but with the deepest sense of melancholy at the loss of his mother and his friends, mingled with a foreboding sense of his own death, that he set about the task of rewriting his will, made immediately necessary by the death of his mother.¹

On the same day that he had written the letter to Dallas, he sent off a note to Samuel Bolton, a Nottingham attorney long associated with the business affairs of the Byrons, enclosing a set of directions for the contents of his will to be drawn up "as soon as possible, in the firmest manner." These directions were published in Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron* in 1830, and their contents have been drawn upon ever since as the primary source for biographers writing upon this episode in Byron's life. It should be noted, however, that there are actually three documents, reflecting three steps in the will-making, each containing information not contained in the other: (1) the Directions referred to above, (2) Bolton's First Draft sent to Byron for revision, (3) the Official Will, substantially the same as the Draft except for one major addition noted below. The originals of the last two documents, now in the Texas Library,

¹Byron's previous will was made in April, 1809. See letter to John Hanson, Apr. 26, 1809: "Is my will finished? I should like to sign it while I have anything to leave." R. E. Prothero, ed., *The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals* (London, 1898-1904), I, 222.

make an interesting comparison with the Directions. Since these documents are heavy with legal verbiage and tediously repetitive, I shall summarize the eight clauses of the Directions, pointing out additions made in the other two documents, especially those to which attention has not hitherto been drawn.

Directions (par. 1): The estate of Newstead to be entailed (subject to certain deductions) on George Anson Byron, heir-at-law, or whoever may be heir-at-law on the death of Lord Byron. The Rochdale property to be sold in part or in whole according to the debts and legacies of the present Lord Byron.

Draft: The estate is entailed (subject to legacies) as Byron directed. The various members of the Byron family who participate in the entail are as follows: 1st, George Anson Byron (Byron's own cousin, the son of George Anson Byron, second son of the poet's grandfather, Admiral John Byron) and his heirs; 2nd, In default of male issue, to his "Great Uncle the Honorable and Reverend Richard Byron" (brother of the Admiral); 3rd, to Richard Byron Esq., eldest son of his great-uncle Richard, and his heirs; and to the following in this order: 4th, to John Byron, second son of Richard; 5th, to the Reverend Henry Byron "Clerk," third son of Richard; 6th and finally, to John Byron, Esq., "son of my late Great Uncle the honorable George Byron." George Anson Byron, the first named heir, succeeded as 7th Lord Byron, in 1824.

An interesting stipulation regarding the entail recalls the depredations of the oak forests at Newstead made by the "Wicked Lord Byron" before the estate was inherited by the poet. As if to forestall a second attempt at their destruction, the draft and the official will make the entail "subject to impeachment of waste but with power of cutting down such timber as may be necessary for the repairs of the Estate and to cut and dispose of such other timber as shall be ripe and full of growth save ornamental trees." If forfeited, the estate is placed in the hands of John Hanson, in trust for the heirs.

Directions (par. 2): To Nicolo Giraud, "subject of France, but born in Greece," £7,000 on attaining the age of twenty-one. (Nicolo Giraud was a Greek youth to whom Byron was greatly attached at Athens, and from whom he learned to speak Italian.)

Draft: "Nicolâ Giraud (who was resident at Athens & Malta in the year 1811) to receive the same [£7,000] on his attaining the age of 21 years." Bolton queries on margin: "Is he now resident in England." Byron: "No"; Bolton: "If interest should be paid on the Legacy during his minority." Byron: "Yes."

Directions (par. 3): To William Fletcher (Byron's valet), Joseph Murray (an old retainer at Newstead), and Demetrius Zografio (Byron's servant in Greece, 1809-11) £50 "pr. ann. each for their natural lives." To William Fletcher, "the mill at Newstead, on condition that he payeth rent, but not subject to the caprice of the landlord." To Robert Rushton (Byron's man-servant and sparring partner at Newstead) £50 per ann. for life and £1,000 on attaining the age of twenty-five.

Draft: Demetrius Zografio appears as "Zegraffo (a Native of Greece)." Bolton's note on passage in parenthesis: "this had better be omitted"; Byron then drew a line through the passage including the name, and wrote the name again correctly. In the official will no mention is made of Zografio's nationality or place of residence.

Referring to William Fletcher's occupancy of the mill, Bolton notes: "Is it only the Water Corn Mill or are there other premises such as a House Garden & Land and in whose occupation are the same at this time." Byron: "In the possession of I. Bowman." This information is inserted in the text of the Draft along with a phrase in Byron's hand "with the outbuildings and close called the miller's close."

Directions (par. 4): To John Hanson, Esq. £2,000. (Hanson was Byron's solicitor and early friend.)

Draft: The legacy appears unchanged in the draft and in the final will.

Directions (par. 5): The Claims of S. B. Davies, Esq. "to be satisfied on proving the amount of the same." (Byron had

borrowed from his Cambridge friend, Scrope Davies, £4,800 before he left England in 1809; he repaid it in 1814.)

Draft: "I do hereby specifically order and direct that all the claims of the sd. S. B. Davies upon me shall be fully paid and satisfied as soon as conveniently may be after my decease on his proving [by vouchers, or otherwise, to the satisfaction of my Executors hereinafter named] the amount thereof [and the correctness of the same]."

Bolton's marginal note reads: "If Mr. Davies has any claims upon Lord Byron, that circumstance is a reason for his not being appointed executor, each executor having an opportunity of paying himself his own debt without consulting his co-executors." Byron: "So much the better—if possible, let him be an executor. B." The words in brackets as quoted from the draft were then deleted by Byron himself.

Directions (par. 6): "The body of Lord B. to be buried in the vault of the garden of Newstead, without any ceremony or burial-service whatever, or any inscription, save his name and age. His dog not to be removed from the said vault."

It was evidently this provision (included in both the draft and the official document) that led Miss Mayne to describe the will in her life of *Byron* as "fantastic." It might be noted, however, that the idea does not necessarily indicate any morbidity in Byron's state of mind at this time, for the provision had appeared previously in Byron's will of 1809: "With regard to the few and simple directions for the disposal of my *carcass*," he wrote to Bolton upon returning the draft, Aug. 16, 1811, "I must have them implicitly fulfilled, as they will, at least prevent trouble and expense; — and (what would be of little consequence to me, but may quiet the conscience of the survivors) the garden is *consecrated ground*. These directions are copied verbatim from my former will." At the same time it is noticeable that Byron does dwell upon the provision, for both the draft and the official will add the enforcing statement: "to the performance of this my particular desire I rely on the attention of my executors." Also the most significant difference between the draft and the official will relates to this provision.

Draft: Following a provision giving his executors the right to sell any part of his real property they might deem necessary, on the next to the last page, a note is inserted: "Rider to come in here." The main content of this rider as it appears in the official will follows.

Official Will: ". . . it is my will and particular desire that my body shall not on any account or under any pretence whatsoever be removed from the vault of the Garden of Newstead . . . in case any or either of the person or persons who . . . become possessed of or entitled to . . . my said Manors . . . shall . . . suffer my body to be removed . . . or be party or privy to the removal thereof *Then* it is my will that the devise . . . to such person shall cease and become forfeited *And* I will and direct that the . . . person next in remainder . . . shall immediately . . . take possession of the said manors. But in case such . . . person shall decline to . . . take possession *Then* I do expressly give and devise the same Manors . . . to the use of my half sister The Honorable Augusta Leigh her heirs and assigns for ever. . . ." [See letter to Bolton containing directions for this rider, Aug. 20, 1811, *Letters and Journals*, IV (London, 1902) p. 331.]

Directions (par. 7): "My library and furniture of every description to my friends Jⁿ Cam Hobhouse, Esq., and S. B. Davies, Esq., my executors. In case of their decease, the Rev. J. Becher, of Southwell, Notts., and R. C. Dallas, Esq. of Mortlake, Surrey, to be executors."

Draft: As prepared by the lawyers and rewritten by Byron, the paragraph enumerating the names and addresses of four executors, rather than two, reads as follows (brackets indicate Byron's deletions; words italicized denote his additions): "my friends *John Cam* Hobhouse (*now or late Trin. Coll. Cambridge* Esq^{re}., *Scrope Beardmore* Davies of *King's College Cambridge* Esq^{re}., The Reverend John Beecher [*sic*] of Southwell in the County of Nottingham Clerk and [R C Dallas of Mortlake in the County of Surry Esq^{re}] *Francis Hodgson Esq^r of King's College Cambridge*."

Bolton notes in the margin that full names must be set forth. Byron: "I forget the Christian name of Dallas—Cut him out." Francis Hodgson's name is then substituted for Dallas's here, and throughout the will. Byron's library and household furniture are specifically given to these four executors with the right

to dispose of them should it be necessary to do so in order to pay his legacies and annuities.²

Legacies which are not mentioned at all in the Directions appear in the Draft.

Draft: "To the said John Cam Hobhouse, Scrope Beardmore Davies, John Becher, and Francis Hodgson their Executors and Administrators the sum of Seven thousand pounds Sterling."

Directions (par. 8): "The produce of the sale of Wymondham in Norfolk, and the late Mrs. B's Scotch property, to be appropriated in aid of the payment of debts and legacies." The sum of £4,200, the remains of the price of Mrs. Byron's estate of Gight, was paid to Byron by her trustee. The draft and official will take note of this direction.

Both documents close with the proviso that the executors shall not be held answerable or accountable for any of the property that may come into their hands by virtue of this will. The draft is unsigned and undated except for the year: 1811. The official will is signed and sealed by Byron on each page, and dated Aug. 23, 1811. A final paragraph containing the signatures of three witnesses appears only on the official will. Their names are subscribed as follows:

William Bowman (Kirkby)

Will^m. Beardall (Newstead)

Sam.^l Bolton att^y. Nottingham.

This will of 1811 was superseded by another and quite different will made in 1815 after Byron's marriage. In fact, the only names appearing in both wills are those of Hobhouse and Hanson (co-executors in 1815), Augusta Leigh (major beneficiary), and William Fletcher (simply as a witness). It was the provisions of this final will that were carried out upon Byron's death in 1824.

WILLIS W. PRATT

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

²Moore (op. cit., I, 283) notes that a curious codicil (not now with the will) was made on Aug. 28, 1811, revoking the bequest of his "household goods and furniture, library, pictures . . . and other personal estate," equally to his four executors, and bequeathing them "except his wine and spiritous liquors" to the three: Hobhouse, Davies, and Hodgson; his wine and spiritous liquors only, he leaves to Becher.

John W. Thomason, Jr., Artist-Writer: An Exhibit

IN APRIL AND MAY of 1950 an exhibit of some of the work of the late Colonel John W. Thomason, Jr., was held at the Rare Books Rooms. The exhibition was both appropriate and timely for several reasons. To begin with, it was fitting that a display honoring Thomason be held at Texas' largest university because Thomason himself was a very prominent Texan. His words and his drawings were largely Texan in their inspiration, and he sang the praises of the Lone Star State not only loudly but well. His work was doubtless as widely known, and as highly esteemed, as that of any Texan of his day. Furthermore, Thomason was a "Texas-Ex," having been enrolled in the University in 1912-13; thus in exhibiting his work the University honored one of her own sons. The exhibit coincided with ceremonies held at the State Capitol in which Governor Allan Shivers accepted on behalf of the people of the State an oil portrait of Thomason for hanging in the Gallery of Famous Texans. Much interest in Thomason and his work was aroused by the publicity given these ceremonies and the display in the Rare Books Rooms, and the exhibition was unusually well attended. Members of Thomason's family inspected the Library's exhibit and announced their pleasure in it; these included the artist-writer's mother, Mrs. John W. Thomason of Huntsville, and his widow, Mrs. John W. Thomason, Jr., of Terrell, as well as seven of his surviving brothers and sisters.

The exhibit reflected Thomason's versatility both as a writer and as an artist. About one hundred and twenty drawings were displayed, constituting examples of all the various stages of

development of his art. Even pictures drawn in his boyhood were available and were shown. (When the drawings left by Thomason were examined they were estimated to number between three and four thousand, from which the ones exhibited were selected. Thomason had by no means stored them neatly or systematically, but he had, fortunately, preserved them.) His youthful sketching was mainly of birds, pen and ink studies which he tinted-in with water color. The half-dozen drawings of this period reveal a young artist with a remarkably observant eye, a passion for accuracy, and considerable accomplishment with the pen.

Perhaps the best known of Thomason's drawings are those stemming from his combat experiences with the famous Fifth Regiment of Marines, Second Division, A.E.F., in the first World War. These little drawings, many of them sketched on the battlefield, were directly responsible for Thomason's rise to national prominence as the "Fighting, Writing Marine" of *Fix Bayonets!* A large number of these drawings were shown, and, of course, were one of the features of the exhibit. Thomason's tours of duty as a Marine officer in different parts of the world are inevitably reflected in his art. He left many pictures of life in South America and in the Caribbean area—both Marine and native life—and a representative sampling of these drawings were in the Rare Book Collection's cases. Also on display were drawings representative of the period he spent as Commanding Officer of the Marine Detachment aboard the *USS Rochester*, a period which included considerable fighting in the banana countries as well as the comparatively placid duty aboard ship. In the early thirties Thomason served as Post Adjutant and as a company commander with the Marine Detachment, American Legation, Peking, China, and, as always, he made a great number of studies of the things he saw around him. Later he made many sketches of World War II sailors and Marines—both male and female, though those portraying the lady warriors were generally ironic and hardly more than cartoons. Wherever John Thomason went,

all his life, he was busy sketching, and many—perhaps most—of these sketches remain. The show in the Exhibition Room was broad enough in scope to include examples of all these different phases of Thomason's career.

Of most interest to the average visitor were the drawings which reflected Thomason's intense interest in Texas and Texans: delightful sketches of elderly colored men in familiar attitudes, character studies of the loafers around the town square, striking interpretations of small-town dignitaries, casual sketches of local belles—drawings such as these reveal Thomason at his best and were, of course, deservedly popular. Also representative of Thomason at his best are his drawings of Confederate soldiers, and here his tastes ran to Hood's Texans, as any reader of *Lone Star Preacher* knows. One striking pen and ink drawing of Hood, typical of Thomason's treatment of the Civil War military men, is here reproduced. It illustrates this scene:

Out in front, General Hood had faced about to the regiment; he held his saber lightly in both hands, at arm's length, level with his shoulders, and he walked backwards, chiding the Fourth: "The guide is left! . . . Dress on the colors, damn you to everlasting hell! . . . Up on the right there . . . up in the center!" He stepped unerringly backward, and his eye penetrated even to the file closers, where Praxiteles now marched.

Thomason worked in several different mediums, most of which were represented. He did very few oils and very little sculpture, so the failure to exhibit work by him in these mediums was not serious, especially since the emphasis was on the artist as illustrator of his own books. Basically, Thomason was a pen and ink artist. By far the largest number of his drawings were pen and ink, and perhaps the next most numerous group were simple line drawings with a wash over them. One felt, indeed, looking at the drawings on display, that any artist with Thomason's vigorous, firm line, his ability to create



mass and movement with a few penstrokes, would be foolish to turn to a heavier and slower medium. Thomason never really did. His crayon and charcoal he employed as if drawing with the pen, and his water colors, of which a number were shown, were essentially line drawings tinted-in. In his earlier years he did a number of etchings, of which the exhibit had some excellent examples, but he apparently tired of making them for he gave away his press and there are no late prints in the work he has left.

The drawings were exhibited just as Thomason left them; that is, they were not matted or otherwise dressed up. It was felt that this offered several advantages: First it allowed the observer a better insight into Thomason's working practices. The drawings were on odd bits of paper—often mere corners torn off larger sheets; they were usually on both sides (though there was a bit of difficulty showing this); and they were on almost any kind of paper, from Chinese notebooks (opening accordionwise) to random bits of stationery—with the letter-head often right in the drawing, making a nice problem for the engraver! Second, an air of informality was achieved. It was more like taking a peep into the artist's study than surveying a formal presentation of his work. This atmosphere was heightened by showing, grouped together, several different versions of the same drawing. Finally, the absence of mats, and the resultant freedom in arranging and spacing the drawings, made it possible to exhibit many more items.

On display also were many Thomason manuscripts, as well as copies of all his published books. In general, Thomason wrote in ink in notebooks, in a medium-sized, clear hand, and his manuscripts thus appear less "casual" than his drawings. Though it was not possible to show it, this appearance is deceptive, for a story might begin normally in the front of a notebook and then for no apparent reason leap to pages in the rear, only to backtrack later and continue somewhere near the middle. An informal note which it was possible to exhibit,

however, was one of Thomason's checkbooks, on the stubs of which was jotted down a complete story outline. A few manuscripts were done on loose sheets of paper, but a notebook was much more usual. In displaying this work, wherever possible a printed text was laid beside the manuscript, opened at the corresponding passage. The page selected was always one bearing illustrations as well as text so that the originals of the drawings could also be placed nearby. This created little groups with the finished book as the center of each, surrounded by the elements which went into it, and gave a revealing picture of the development of the book. The manuscripts, by the way, showed little revision. This is partly because Thomason wrote the way he drew, rapidly and accurately. But it is also because it was his practice to set aside completely work that displeased him, whether writing or drawing, and make a fresh start. (Unfortunately Thomason's manuscripts, of which there are two huge boxes, have not been completely counted, let alone catalogued, and it was, at the time of the exhibit, impossible to locate several different manuscript versions of the same printed text.)

One display case was filled with letters by Thomason to his young son, Jack. These attracted considerable attention, since, in children's-book style, they were done on unusually large sheets of paper and were profusely illustrated. The drawings were mostly black and white, though there was one striking one of a pirate done in vivid color (tempera). Also exhibited were a few memorabilia—a handsome photograph of Thomason in undress uniform, a display of the medals he won during his distinguished career in the Marines (including the Navy Cross and the Army's Silver Star), and a photograph of the new destroyer, christened by Mrs. John W. Thomason, Jr., in 1944, the *USS John W. Thomason*.

Nearly all of the material exhibited was lent by Mrs. John W. Thomason, Jr. (Of course the Library owned copies of all of Thomason's printed works.) Of the drawings and etchings

on exhibit Mrs. Thomason selected thirty which give a fairly comprehensive view of her late husband's artistic career and presented them to the Rare Books Collection. This generous act, deeply appreciated by the people of Texas as represented by the staff of their University library, followed closely her presentation to the Texas Collection of the Civil War library accumulated by Colonel Thomason, which he used in writing *Jeb Stuart* and *Lone Star Preacher*. These books, forming the nucleus of the John W. Thomason collection, are distinguished from all others in the Texas Collection by the bookplate which they bear, designed by Thomason for his son. At present the main body of original work left by the distinguished artist-writer, both drawings and manuscripts, is housed for safekeeping in the vaults of the Rare Books Collections.

The exhibit clearly showed Thomason to be a much larger figure than had been generally realized, even by his devotees. It was possible, seeing his artistic life, so to speak, all on display in one room, to appreciate more fully the range of his interests and the extent of his accomplishments. A different picture was gained from what one gets from contemplating one bit at a time over a long period. Here, set side by side, were displays of his art indicating his interest in the Confederate soldier, Napoleonic France, contemporary Texas, Latin America, the U.S. Navy, wildlife, modern China, Texas heroes, and various phenomena of our workaday world. Together, they had considerable impact. They added up to a picture of an accomplished artist, a gifted writer, a distinguished Marine, and a devoted Texan—John W. Thomason, Jr., Col., USMC.

RAY PAST

INSTRUCTOR IN ENGLISH

American First Editions at TxU

VII. HERMAN MELVILLE (1819-1891)

HERMAN MELVILLE was a man who swapped stories in mid-stream. Having won a reputation as a signally successful writer of popular romances he disappointed many a reader, like his friend Titus Munson Coan, by quitting the "paradise islands" of the South Seas for a mist-shrouded pursuit of various metaphysical monsters. Down to the year 1922 at least thirty-eight editions of *Typee*, his first book and perhaps his best popular romance, had been printed, as against only nineteen of *Moby-Dick*. The ensuing three decades, however, have seen an ample vindication of Melville's decision, in terms of popularity as well as profundity. Between 1922 and 1938 there were in the neighborhood of seventy-two editions of *Moby-Dick*, as compared with about fifty-nine of *Typee*; since 1938, moreover, the balance in favor of *Moby-Dick* has undoubtedly considerably increased. Of course some of Melville's other prose works, particularly *Omoo*, *White-Jacket*, *Redburn*, and *Israel Potter*, have also gone through many editions.

Only a fraction of these numerous editions are represented in TxU. Most of them have slight value, but some, especially those containing an introduction or notes, and those handsomely illustrated or bound, would be desirable additions to the Melville shelf. An example is John B. Moore's edition of *Pierre* (1929), or William Plomer's edition of *Redburn* (1937).

With one exception, copies of all of the first American editions of the fourteen Melville books that were published in

his lifetime are in the possession of TxU. The exception is *Clarel* (1876), a long poem in two volumes. The last auction record of this book is of a sale in 1945 for sixty-five dollars. *Clarel* is one of the scarcest of the first editions, and in view of the still mounting interest in Melville may be difficult to secure.

In addition to the American, three of the English first editions are in TxU: *Typee* (under the title *The Marquesas Islands*), *Moby-Dick* (*The Whale*), and *The Confidence Man*. Eight of Melville's prose works were published in England in the same year as the first American edition; some of them simultaneously, among the first publications to be handled in this way. Among the English editions, *The Whale* is of most interest, not only because it is Melville's masterpiece but because thirty-five passages contained in the American edition, including the epilogue, are missing from the English—which appeared a month earlier than the American.

The majority of the first editions are contained in the De Golyer collection, and these are all in excellent condition, although two (*John Marr*, and *Timoleon*) have been rebound. The others, in the Aitken collection, are in good condition.

One rare second edition in TxU deserves note: the revised edition (1846) of *Typee*. A comparison of this heavily expurgated text with the first edition is an exercise in American mid-century good taste. The excised passages are chiefly those which reflect unfavorably upon missionary activity in the South Seas, or those which might be regarded as risqué. In England it was not found necessary to censor this book.

Besides the first editions already mentioned there is a second group made up of six books first published after Melville's death, or to be exact, after 1922: one novel, two volumes of correspondence (published separately) and two journals (published separately). All are in TxU. The text of *Billy Budd*, the novel, has presented many problems because of the state of the manuscript Melville left. The first edition appeared in 1924, in the standard *Works* published by Constable

in London, but proved to be far from satisfactory. In 1948 a carefully edited text prepared by F. Barron Freeman was published by the Harvard press, together with a previously unpublished short story which constituted Melville's first treatment of the material. In addition to the books just mentioned there have been several collections or individual issues of verse and short prose pieces, like *Benito Cereno*, in the last twenty-five years. TxU's holdings of these are almost complete, and will probably be filled out in the near future.

Finally, Melville's Shakespearian manner of weaving his tales out of other men's writing requires some attention to his source books. In *Moby-Dick* there are six, in addition to the Bible, of primary interest: Beale, Bennett, Browne, Chase, Cheever, and Scoresby (see list below). Beale and Chase are of most importance. Melville's own copy of Chase, now owned by Mr. Perc Brown (who also owns Melville's copy of Beale), sold for \$1,675 in 1932, and for \$2,100 in 1945. Melville's copy of Beale brought \$1,050 in 1945. Another source book of special interest is Delano's *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels . . .*, on which Melville based his remarkable story *Benito Cereno*.

Two of the source books, J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Voyage Round the World, from the Year 1833 to 1836*, 2 v. (New York, 1846), and Henry T. Cheever's *The Whale and his Captors* (New York, 1852), are owned by TxU, but it would be desirable to obtain an 1850 edition of the Cheever. Modest prices are being obtained for most of these volumes: a copy of Beale brought \$7.00 in 1947, Bennett \$7.00 in 1942, Delano \$11.00 in 1948, and Scoresby \$11.00 in 1947. Except for Melville's copy, there is no record of a sale of the Chase in recent years, although a limited edition (together with two other versions of Chase's story) published in 1935 by the Golden Cockerel press has been selling for around \$14.00. There are, of course, a great many more source books than can be listed here that would be desirable

acquisitions. At present, the two best accounts of Melville's sources are Charles R. Anderson's *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939) and Howard P. Vincent's *The Trying-Out of Moby-Dick* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

The collection of Melville books in TxU is now so good that there is reason to hope it may become outstanding. Possession of two of the scarcest first editions, *John Marr* and *Timoleon*, is particularly fortunate. Only twenty-five copies of each of these books were printed in the first edition. *Clarel* would fill up the list of first editions, and with the help of friends of TxU in securing it, and in adding to the source books, a splendid collection can surely be achieved. The titles below will make a fine start.

Thomas Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale*. Second edition. London: 1839.

Frederick D. Bennett, *A Whaling Voyage Round the World, from the Year 1833 to 1836*. 2 v. London: 1840.

Owen Chase, *Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-Ship Essex, of Nantucket*. New York: 1821.

Henry T. Cheever, *The Whale and his Captors*. New York: 1850.

Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres; Comprising Three Voyages Round the World*. Boston: 1817.

Herman Melville, *Clarel*. 2 v. New York: 1876.

William Scoresby, Jr., *An Account of the Arctic Regions with a History and Description of the Northern Whale Fishery*. 2 v. Edinburgh: 1820.

GORDON H. MILLS
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

New Acquisitions

THIS SECTION reviews from time to time the important gifts and purchases received in the Library for the period between issues of the CHRONICLE. It is a selective list, and is not always able to mention every item which may be worthy of attention, but it is intended that it shall always be representative of the more significant type of acquisitions.

GENERAL

I

Every student of eighteenth-century French literature is familiar with the name of Elie-Catherine Fréron (1718-1776), the very active literary critic who inspired some of Voltaire's most ferocious epigrams. His name is now almost exclusively associated with enterprises in the field of literary journalism. In 1749 he founded, and was apparently the sole contributor to, a periodical which he called *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps*. Thirteen numbers of this "magazine" appeared, at irregular intervals, from 1749 to 1754, when Fréron broke his contract with his publisher. He then immediately launched upon a similar editorial venture to which he gave the name of *l'Année littéraire*, bringing out eight numbers annually until his death in 1776. The editorship passed to his son, Louis-Stanislas, who continued its publication for another fourteen years. Of the two hundred ninety-two "tomes" of the two periodicals which appeared during the fifty-one years of their existence, the library has just acquired the complete run except for the first two issues of the year 1790. The name of M. Fréron appears on the title-pages of all the successive issues through the fourth "tome" of the year 1781.

The *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps* and *l'Année littéraire* contain reviews of books on a great variety of sub-

jects, including productions in the purely literary genres. Consequently one encounters, as one would expect, the names of many of the prominent literary figures of the period, notably Voltaire and Rousseau. Since Fréron was the avowed enemy of Voltaire and the "Philosophe" party, his two periodicals constitute important documents for any study of the controversies which so enlivened the intellectual life of eighteenth-century France.

II

The publications of the *Société géologique de Belgique*, Liège, acquired by The University of Texas Library, contain descriptive and analytical articles on the Carboniferous and Tertiary rocks of Belgium. The rocks of both of these systems in Belgium were deposited under very similar conditions to those of the same systems in Texas. The nomenclature of certain divisions of the Tertiary stems from that applied to the Belgian Tertiary. The closely similar conditions are well illustrated by the discovery of oil in the Belgian sections by methods which had previously been applied in Texas.

III

The *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* may be best described as an international journal of taxonomy. Descriptions of newly discovered forms of life, both recent and fossil, from all over the world have been published in this journal. The journal is an essential tool for anyone working in the fields of taxonomy or evolution. Acquisition of this set has greatly increased the usefulness of our library for workers in these fields.

LATIN AMERICAN COLLECTION

I

Some of the most interesting and richest sources of information on South America are the travel accounts written by Europeans visiting those regions. Several recent acquisitions of this

type of material are worthy of comment. One is the English translation of Amédée François Frézier, *Relation du voyage de la mer du sud aux côtes du Chily et du Perou, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 & 1714 . . .* (Paris, 1716). The English version entitled *A Voyage to the South-Sea, and along the Coasts of Chili and Perú, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714. Particularly Describing the Genius and Constitution of the Inhabitants, as Well Indians as Spaniards: Their Customs and Manners: Their Natural History, Mines, Commodities, Traffick with Europe, &c.* (London, 1717) was done from the second French edition (Amsterdam, 1717) and contains not only the English translation of Edmund Halley's defense of his "Chart of the Variation of the Compass" but also the "Relation of the Jesuites Settlements and Commerce in Paraguay" taken from the Amsterdam 1717 edition. The English volume, edited by Jonah Bowyer, also has the thirty-seven excellent "coppercuts of the coasts, harbours, cities, plants and other curiosities printed from the original plates" of the 1716 Paris edition.

Later imprints have appeared. That of Paris, 1732, added a reply to Feuillée's criticism in his *Journal des observations . . .* of Frézier's *Relation du voyage . . .* and brought up to date a chronology of the viceroys of Peru. Isaac Verburg did a Dutch translation that saw two printings (Amsterdam, 1718 and 1727). The German version (Hamburg, 1745) omitted the "Memoire touchant l'établissement de pères Jésuites dans les Indes d'Espagne" but added an account of George Anson's voyage around the world made in 1740 to 1744. That part of Frézier's relation concerning Chile and translated by Nicolás Peña M appeared in Santiago de Chile in 1902.

Another addition to the collection is *A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma, or the Spanish Main in South America, during the Years 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804* by F. Depons. Translated by an American Gentleman (3v. New York, 1806). Washington Irving was the "American Gentleman" who made the translation from the French edition: François Raymond

Joseph de Pons, *Voyage a la partie orientale de la Terre-Ferme, dans l'Amérique Méridionale, Fait pendant les années 1801 a 1804* (3v. Paris, 1806). The author was a French traveller, born on the island of Santo Domingo in 1751 and later sent to Caracas by the French government, who describes the territory under the jurisdiction of the Captain-General of Caracas, composed of the provinces of Venezuela, Caracas, Maracaibo, Varinas, Spanish Guiana, Cumana, and the island of Margaritta.

A condensed version of the work with the title *Travels in Parts of South America during the Years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804* . . . was printed in London in 1806 for Richard Phillips to form a part of volume four of *A Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels* (10v. London, 1805-1809). The following year a two-volume English translation of the complete work appeared (also in London) under the title *Travels in South America during the years 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804, . . .* The 1806 London imprint has two excellent maps—one of the Captaincy-General of Caracas and the other of the city of Caracas. The 1807 imprint contains the map of the captaincy general. The same map belonging to the New York edition is missing from our copy. De Pons' *Voyage* . . . appeared in German translation twice, in Weimar in 1807, edited by Theophil Friedrich Ehrman and in Berlin, 1808, translated by Phillipp Christoph Weyland.

Manuel Segundo Sánchez, *Bibliografía Venezolanista* (Caracas, 1914), p. 84, after citing the above-mentioned editions and reporting that there was also a Dutch translation, lamented the fact that there was no Spanish edition of this work that had received the praise of even Andrés Bello. The Venezuelan National Academy of History recognizing De Pons' work as "that which best explains what Hispanic America was in 1804" decided to entrust the translation of it to Enrique Planchart, to publish it by chapters in their *Boletín* (nos. 41-53, January,

1928–March, 1931), and to print it in book form as the academy's contribution to the centennial celebration of the death of Simón Bolívar, December 17, 1930. Thus appeared *Viaje a la Parte Oriental de Tierra Firme* (Caracas, 1930), a copy of which was sent as a gift to The University of Texas Library. It contains reproductions of some city plans taken from the French edition and not reproduced in the various English editions. The Latin American Collection does not have the French, German and Dutch editions.

These two new acquisitions have taken their place on our shelves beside Peter Schmidtmeier, *Travels into Chile, over the Andes in the Years 1820 and 1821, with Some Sketches of the Productions and Agriculture; Mines and Metallurgy; Inhabitants, History and other Features of America; Particularly of Chile and Arauco* (London, 1824); Charles Marie de la Condamine, *Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale* (Paris, 1745) published in English in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels . . .* (17v. London, 1808–1814) vol. 14, pp. 211–257; translated into Spanish by Federico Ruiz Morcuende (from the 1778 Maestric French edition) with the title *Relación abreviada . . .* (Madrid, 1941 and Buenos Aires, 1945); La Condamine, *Journal du voyage fait par ordre du roi, à l'équateur, servant d'introduction historique à la mesure des trois premiers degrés du méridien* (Paris, 1751); Alexandre von Humboldt, *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804* (2v. Paris, 1814–1819); the Spanish edition, *Viage a las regiones equinocciales del nuevo continente, hecho en 1799 hasta 1804, . . .* (5v. Paris, 1826); the improved Spanish edition (5v. Caracas, 1941–42) translated by Lisandro Alvarado and the English translation of Thomasina Ross, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America, during the Years 1799–1804* (3v. London, 1852); the Spanish translation of the work of the French

traveler, Jullien Mellet, *Viajes por el interior de la América meridional* (Santiago de Chile, 1908?); and others.

II

Our holdings relative to the Mexican state of Michoacán have been greatly enriched by recent acquisitions: among them the complete edition of Matías de Escobar, *América Thebaida: Vitas Patrum de los religiosos ermitaños de nuestro Padre San Agustín de la Provincia de San Nicolás Tolentino de Michoacán* (Mexico, 1924) to stand by the incomplete Morelia, 1890 edition already here; Juan González de la Puente, *Primera parte de la Chronica Avgustiniana de Michoacán en que se tratan y escriben las vidas de nueve varones . . .* (Cuernavaca, 1907) and Mariano de Jesús Torres, *Historia civil y eclesiástica de Michoacán desde los tiempos antiguos hasta nuestros días* (3v. Morelia, 1909-14) to supplement such works as Diego Basalénque, *Historia de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán del Orden de N.P.S. Agustín . . .* (Mexico, 1673) and the later edition (Mexico, 1886), Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont, *Crónica de la Provincia de los santos apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, de la regular observancia de N.P.S. Francisco . . .* (5v. Mexico, 1873-74), and Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Crónica de la Provincia Franciscana de los Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán* (Mexico, 1899).

Another primary source for research in regard to Michoacán now available is the first thirty-six volumes of *Recopilación de leyes, decretos reglamentos y circulares expedidos en el estado de Michoacán* (Morelia, 1886-1903), edited by Amador Coromina and covering the period from the opening session (April 6, 1824) of the first constituent state congress through the 29th session (Sept. 29, 1900 to August 30, 1902).

III

Another noteworthy item is Jeronimo Román de la Higuera, *Chronica de la orden de los ermitaños del glorioso padre Sancto Augustin, dividida en doze cēturias* (Salamanca, 1569),

containing some of the first notices on the Agustinian friars who first came to the Indies in 1532 and by the date of publication of this work had established some fifty monasteries in Mexico (some of the most important being in Michoacán) and nine in Peru.

IV

Economists, geographers, and political scientists will doubtless be interested in several Peruvian sets that have taken their place in the collection: namely, Bernardino Izaguirre, *Historia de las misiones franciscanas y narración de los progresos de la geografía en el oriente del Perú* (14v. Lima, 1922-30); *Colección de leyes, decretos y resoluciones y otros documentos oficiales referentes al Departamento de Loreto* (18v. Lima, 1905-1909), and *Boletín de la Dirección de Agricultura y Ganadería* (17v. Lima, 1931-1944).

TEXAS COLLECTION

Mr. C. R. Smith of American Airlines has presented to the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center seven drawings by Charles M. Russell with an additional drawing by Tom Lea and an essay on the pictures, "The Conservatism of Charles M. Russell," all brought together in a portfolio by Carl Hertzog. The Russell drawings are entitled: "Before This He Had Only Wolves, Broke to Pack or Drag a Travois," "To Fort Union to Trade," "The Pony Express," "Freighting from Fort Benton," "The Stage Wagon," "The First Fire Canoe Nears Fort Union," and "The Iron Horse Comes to the Upper Missouri." Tom Lea's "The Airplane" completes the pictorial history of transportation in the West.

The History Center has also received from Mr. Carl Hertzog six Southwestern titles, each book carrying a special Hertzog-designed bookplate in memory of Leslie Waggener, Jr. Several recent gifts to the Center carry a bookplate in memory of George A. Hill, Jr.

THE LIBRARY CHRONICLE, issued occasionally, is edited by Joseph Jones, Department of English, and published by the Library of The University of Texas, Austin 12, Alexander Moffit, Librarian.

